

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

THE

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CHILD LABOR.

The children in the Poor House
May die of many an ill,
But the Poor House does not profit
By their labor in the mill.

The children in the Orphanage
Wear raiment far from fine,
But no Orphanage is financed
By child labor in a mine.

The cruel law may send them
To reform school's iron sway,
But it does not set small children
To hard labor by the day.

Only the Loving Family,
Which we so much admire,
Is willing to support itself
On little children's hire.

Only the Human Father,
A man, with power to think,
Will take from little children
The price of food and drink.

Only the Human Mother—
Degraded, helpless thing—
Will make her little children work,
And live on what they bring.

No floggings leads the fatherhood
No chicken feeds the hen
No kitten mouses for the cat
The glory is for men.

We are the Wisest, Strongest Race—
Loud may our praise be sung
The only animal alive
That lives upon its young.

We make the poverty that takes
The lives of babies, so,
We can awake. Rebuild, remake—
And let our children grow.

—Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

A WINTER NIGHT'S THOUGHTS.

I hate this comfort when I think
How many shiver on the brink
Of cold and cheerless want,
How many souls this bitter night
Who, void of food and fire and light,
Throb like spectres haunt.

I hate this comfort when I know
That hearts are cold when hands are
shewn.

Moans, but do not move,
They will not help, they will not give,
In love with self alone they live,
They know no other love.

I hate this comfort when I know,
'Gainst biting winds and snow,
Dreaded, ill-fed—the child
Of tender years, shivering with cold
Goes forth at noon, with grief untold,
To serve a world defiled.

I hate this comfort when I know
Few of the reapers ever sow;
In ease their lives glide by,
While we to them, like slaves, still yield
The skill of hand and fruit and field
Drop ere we time to die.

I hate this comfort, warmth and cheer,
When in the howling gusts I hear
The hail upon the pane,
And think of those bereft of home
Who near my door are doomed
To rags and want and pain.

I hate this comfort when I know
That many a wretch is lying low
Beside some sheltering stone
Or hedge, who may never rise again,
Who ne'er may voice his helpless pain,
Or breathe his name unknown.

I hate this comfort when I know
That plenty rots, and want is woe,
And men are deaf to all
Save Self, Death may extract his dues,
And 'neath a hedge his victim choose
Close by a palace wall.

—William Moreland.

Ambitions and Ideals.

By Millicent Hollywood.

"Ah, love, could thou and I with fate
conspire,
To grasp this sorry scheme of things en-
tire,
Would not we shatter it to bits,
And then remould it nearer to the
hearts desire?"

"We would soon inhabit the incompar-
able retreat, a home that would be really
a home in the promised land; it is only
because we do not care to drudge togeth-
er in a house pursued in turn by wolf and
the landlord, and perhaps bring children
into the world to be in turn pursued by
the various wild animals of capitalism,
the wolf, the landlord, the man hunters,
etc., that we do not fulfil the greatest
contract of life, by marriage."

Under capitalism there can be no such
thing as a perfectly happy marriage, and
no home, especially among the toilers,
that can be called an "incomparable re-
treat." I realise all the delight, the joy,
and happiness that would be mine, and I
believe yours, could we be each other's
life mate and companion under a sane so-
cial system; where there would not be
the sceptre of endless toil for myself in
the workshop of a boss, and ceaseless
drudgery and hopeless monotony for you
in your hideous little den, which, under
the present insane, silly scheme of things
is called "home" by the toiler and his
dear ones.

Capitalism will not allow us to have
the "incomparable retreat" of our
dreams, a home of plenty, freedom and
fellowship would mean life indeed, so we
are compelled to go homeless to remain
among the homeless ones of the earth.
Capitalism does not allow men of the
working class to provide suitable homes
for their wives and children, and there
are some of us who would rather go
without the wife and child rather than
offer the woman he loves a den or hovel
in Queer street, and a dingy, dirty back
yard in which to rear and train her chil-
dren.

"I could not take the woman I love
into a poverty stricken rookery or a
couple of rooms, or a hash house and tell
her to be satisfied with it because she
would surely get one of the many mani-
fessions in the blissful hereafter. I should
want to make a home for you that would
be a paradise in this life, but capitalism
makes that ambition and the ideal home,
the "incomparable retreat," impossible
of realisation. So as we both have de-
cided that it would be unwise for us to
start drudging together in one of those
piggeries which capitalism provides for
the workers' homes, we will dedicate our
lives to the greatest and holiest ideal and
highest ambition we know of, the emanci-
pation of humanity."

The above is from the letter of a So-
cialist to the woman who, under a sane
social system would have shared some
"incomparable retreat" with him.

Of course, the Socialist is frequently
accused of "idealising," but surely
"idealisation" is permissible when

REFUSED TO DIVIDE.

"I don't believe in dividing up."
"Who does?"
"You Socialists do. Whatever I make
is my own."
"What did you make this morning?"
"I made 6s."
"I thought the Government made all
the money."
"Well, then, I made three dozen caps."
"Do you own them?"
"Of course I don't, you idiot; they are
worth £2"—"Coming Nation."

founded upon ascertainable truth. We
see the wealthy, their sons and daugh-
ters, healthy, and enjoying life (as a
rule), well fed, well clothed, hence we
imagine a condition, when all our sons
and daughters will be treated similarly;
that is an ideal founded upon reality. We
idealise when we picture the time when
wars will be no more, when religious
superstitions decay and die, and then we
picture the freedom of the people when
that happens.

We idealise when we conjure up pic-
tures of the world's wealth producers liv-
ing in beautiful homes, surrounded by
lovely gardens; when we picture children
being brought into the world for the love
of them; when we picture a society free
from poverty; cities free from slums,
hovels and penitentiaries, free from rag-
ged schools, and military barracks;
when there will be no vast army of un-
employed; when there will be no toil
saddened men or women, and no little
children yoked to the chariot wheel of
Mammon. These are legitimate ideals
founded upon knowledge.

It is painfully true that we humans
know very little about the best ideals
and ambitions at present. Ambitions and
ideals which leads one downward instead
of upward is the present prevailing one
seven times out of eight.

One of the few high ideals one has to
take into consideration these days, in-
vention, poetry, the exercise of wonder-
ful talents in a particular line, genius, all
or any of these, a person may possess,
and start off by trying to attain to the
highest peak of a great ideal, yet are
they not all cribbed and crushed within
the narrow confines and walls of personal
gain before they have travelled very far
on the road towards their ideal, no mat-
ter how fine it may be?

Of all the great pianists, I suppose List
was the only one who was not dragged
into the vortex of amassing wealth.
Edison may live simply and in homely
style himself, but he has been forced for
his own protection to merge his inven-
tions into commercial profits. What
benefits man gets from his inventions are
only available through profit received by
the ordinary speculating shark. To a
person with great ideals such things
would act as a damper to his ambitions,
and make him think that after all his
ideal was not worth attaining. Not be-
cause it was unattainable, but because
of the results. For the glory of having
given to the world some great work or
invention, must be greatly discounted
when the giver sees the fact that the
world does not benefit by it.

The inventor of cold storage died in
Paris a few years ago in great poverty.
His ideal, if it was that of benefitting
humanity, could be placed as a high one
indeed, and giving him credit for such,
—what do we see as a result of the suc-
cess of his invention? Simply that the
Beef Trust gets the benefit. And even
supposing his ideal was no more than an
effort towards personal gain and econo-
mic security for himself, what then? Be-
ing robbed of even that, even an ideal
turns to wormwood when attained.

We know that while men and women
are not free to develop themselves along
the lines which they feel themselves best
fitted for, there is little hope for any high
ideals and ambitions being common
among us. Only when we achieve econo-
mic freedom for humanity, and the
democracy attains a sound education, will
every real benefactor, scientist, writer, ar-
tist, inventor, receive, and not till then,
receive their just reward, not only ample
sustenance and removal of the fear of
poverty, but the stimulus that their work
is genuinely understood and appreciated!
Then they will be able to enjoy to the
full the realisation of their nobler ambi-
tions and ideals.

We hear often the cry of "Bureau-
cracy" under Socialism and lack of in-
centive. What incentive have the army
of underpaid clerks, store girls and
men; under private enterprise? Not even
a decent livelihood. On the other hand,
under Socialism, every producer or neces-
sary accessory, such as doctors, etc.,

AN APPEAL FOR UNITY.

Comrades of the A.S.P. and S.L.P., I
wish to make another appeal for a **United
Socialist Party**, the need for which is
becoming more essential day by day.

We two sections, of one great move-
ment, are standing apart, and wrangling
over so small a matter, as the name of
our paper.

I have followed the reports of the unity
debate very closely both in "The People"
and the "International Socialist," and I
see absolutely no cause for the conservat-
ism that is being practised.

Our movement is not a job creating
institution, where there are easy billets
and fat salaries to compete for on the
contrary there are more kicks than half-
pennies as a reward for efficiency.

No doubt in the past there have been
mistakes made, but we as Socialists re-
cognise neither individuals nor parties
as infallible.

We have reached a stage where both
sections are agreed on principle. I think
the other matter should be easily ar-
ranged.

I would suggest that both names ("The
People" and the "International Social-
ist") be dropped **finally**, as I admit that
if either name were allowed to go to the
ballot we members of the A.S.P. section
have an advantage in voting power.

The members of our South Coast
branch, to which I belong, have agreed
unanimously that no matter what title
should be conferred on our paper, so long
as it contains the right sort of propa-
ganda literature we will **buy, sell and
barrack** for it.

Comrades, I appeal to you as intelli-
gent men and women (and no other join
our movement) to drop all little petty
jealousies (if such exist) and come to-
gether as one solid class-conscious body,
and mark out our chart together for the
future emancipation of the toiling mass-
es.—Yours for emancipation.

R. BLAIR.
Corrimal Branch.

(Just prior to receiving the above, ano-
ther invitation was forwarded to the
S.L.P. by the A.S.P. executive to recon-
sider their attitude on unity. With regard
to Comrade Blair's statement that we
are wrangling over the name of the
paper. That is not correct. What we
desire to see is the S.L.P. prepared to
unite on principle with sufficient trust in
the membership of both parties to allow
them to decide the name of the paper
(not necessarily the "People" or "The
International") and all other questions.
—E. "I.S.")

would know that every stroke of useful
work done or service rendered, was for
the good of the community, as well as
for himself and those immediately dear
to him.

At present it mostly happens that the
good workman or woman are, by exert-
ing themselves, rendering it impossible
for others to get employment, and often,
by speeding up the work, he eventually
leaves himself without employment, as
when a "glut" of goods renders "closing
down" necessary if profits are to be
kept up.

Profit, profit, profit, are the Alpha and
Omega, the only ideal, the only ambition,
the beginning and the end of the gospel
of the "Golden Calf"—Capitalism. Lab-
or being merely a necessary means to
secure the desired end; science and in-
vention only valuable as it helps **profit**,
and art only valuable for what it will
fetch; the worship of the "Golden Calf"
is the highest ideal and ambition of cap-
italism.

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"Socialist Atrocities."

By Maria.

In the "Sydney Morning Herald" of Feb. 5th, a short article was published entitled "Socialist Atrocities in Finland," in which a few instances were given of the doings of the newly formed Red Guards, and a short account of affairs in Finland generally. Now it is extremely interesting to note exactly what these atrocities are, under what circumstances they were committed, and what led to them.

The capitalist press that has such glaring accounts of "Socialist Atrocities" has nothing to report of various acts, which are not only similar but worse, by far, than any committed by the Socialists.

Also it is somewhat interesting to notice that although the "Herald" speaks somewhat vaguely of "bands of marauders," who rob and murder, it only gave two actual instances of murder, and those by a man who admits that he did not actually witness them. It is as follows:—

"Stories illustrating the methods of the Red Guards are vividly told by the novelist Juhani, who is in Helsinki in Sanomat. He writes:—I did not actually see the murder of M. Bjorn at Malin, near Helsinki, but I feel as though I had been an eye-witness. Brigands of the Socialist revolutionary organisation came to his house, led him out, and ordered him to come to the Malm Picture Palace, which they had seized and made their centre. M. Bjorn was a Swede, and knew no Finnish. He hesitated to follow them because he could not understand their object. Then they changed their minds, placed the old man against the wall of his own house, and paraded before him. Then they fired at him seven shots. The wife of the murdered man heard the shots, ran out, and saw her husband lying with his face to the ground. She tried to carry the body away, but could not. She cried out, 'Isn't there one man who will help me?' The murderers laughed with that peculiarly Finnish coarse grating laughter, the like of which I have never heard among any other people, and walked off. The wife stood weeping beside the corpse. Then a helper came who was not a Russian soldier—a tender-hearted, gentle Russian sovarisch (comrade). He helped M. Bjorn's widow to carry the body into the house. The murdered man was a teacher in an elementary school. In another case M. Bergbom, the master of an old estate at Herttonaas, a quiet, kindly old man, was sitting at lunch with his family, when in burst seven Red Guardsmen, shouting 'Hands up!' M. Bergbom, who was hard of hearing, on seeing the intruders asked, 'What are they saying?' In reply he got a bullet in his forehead and fell dead, blood spurting from the wound."

Now we do not attempt to defend such acts, or to boldly say that such doings are part and parcel of a revolution; bloodshed is always deplorable, whether it be in "civilised warfare," in hot anger, or even in the fierce, heated and des-

Seeing this is a time for "Capital," or at least the possessors of same, and those who are living on the avenues created by the present "social system," as the opportunities are here for them to drag the "herring" across the path of the true scientific movement of the working class; cognisant of the fact that the workers are looking for something that will ease their present economic position, and knowing that the majority of them do not understand the true causes of their economic troubles, think that these are only temporary and will eventually readjust themselves, or at least gradually become better with the aid of such reforms as are put forward by the polluted politicians and many of the so-called Labor leaders and also being aware that "Labor" has had quite sufficient of the past and present reforms that have been held up to them as a remedy for their industrial troubles, they, Capital, are coming along with the same old thing dished up in a new bottle—the label a different color.

Thinking, and of course, also hoping that it may pacify them for a period, the Capitalists, through the Industrial Registrar, Mr. Holme, has issued to many of the members of the "South Coast Miners' Association," a circular on CONCILIATION, of which the following is an extract:—

"Sir.—In my official capacity as Commissioner for Industrial Conciliation, I venture to ask you to use your influence to secure the adoption of a comprehensive scheme of Conciliation as a condition of the future working of the Coal Mining Industry in this State; I feel confident that if the published intentions of the Government in this connection were thoroughly understood by the miners in their various communities, some basis might readily be found for a combined effort to prevent much of the unnecessary friction and loss which is caused by constantly recurring disputes in the industry.

It is obvious, of course, that no propo-

perate struggles of an organised crowd of human beings to gain their freedom; although we admit that our final emancipation must be secured at all costs; yet violence and bloodshed must surely be the last resource.

When, however, such accounts meet the eye, it is only natural for the class conscious reader to contrast the happenings in Finland, with the innumerable occasions upon which capitalist might has, without the least compunction, murdered in cold blood, men, women and children, in order that they themselves might continue to collect the same amount of profits; mark you, their lives were not in danger, merely their profits.

According to all accounts of revolts and uprisings, they have only taken place when the workers have been ground down to such an extent, that conditions have become absolutely intolerable; the capitalist or land barons were not even satisfied with owning the land and controlling the working class; but they must oppress them as well, in order to wring as much labour from them as possible.

In France before the revolution, men were actually made to take the place of horses; and many fell down in the shafts with broken backs, and it is needless to detail the well known incident when the starving mob cried for bread; they were told to eat grass.

These and a thousand other horrors took place in France, and even if the people resorted to bloodshed, they at least were fighting for their lives, and were practically insane with poverty and misery.

Let us look for an instant at a few evidences of capitalist atrocities, and we shall see what actuated them each time, and if so far, the doings of the Socialists have paralleled them. The Congo atrocities, now public property, leap into our minds right away. What more cowardly, cold-blooded, iniquitous piece of work has ever been known; how mutilation and murder were every day events, and what for? Was it because the natives were dangerous and threatened the lives of settlers? Not at all, simply because the Belgian Government wanted money, and they were not prepared to allow the lives or limbs of ordinary human be-

Conciliation and the Miners.

sal for conciliation can be thoroughly successful unless it receives the endorsement and support of employees in the industry.

Taking this circular, which is the nucleus of another attempt to introduce conciliation, Comrade Sadler gave a short address on the subject at the last meeting of the Corral Branch.

He said, "Seeing that one of the present rules of the miners is, that their officials, both locally and as a district, are and always have been ready and willing to conciliate with the officials of the employers on any question that would perhaps cause any unnecessary trouble and always ready to avert any stoppage of work that could be prevented by conciliation; seeing that this is already the case conciliation, as requested in the circular as far as the worker is concerned, is unnecessary and expensive, and is, at the best, only creating positions for a few of their leaders as permanent conciliators, who would eventually become, as has been proved in the past, only extra parasites to be kept by the workers.

Referring to clause (7), which reads as follows, "That above the District Committees there shall be a permanent Coal Board consisting of six persons, half of whom shall represent the employers, and the other half, the employees throughout the State, with a judge as President," he said, "If the miners are wise they will not create any more permanent positions for a few opportunists who are always ready and willing to jump into any position for their own economic benefit, regardless of what results it may bring to their class.

Remember the fourteen weeks' strike. After work was resumed, how the Government dangled before your eyes "Wages Boards" as a means of averting industrial trouble, and were also so kind as to create positions for LEADERS of your organisation as "Industrial Inspectors." Where are they to-day? They

ings to stand in the way of them getting it.

The massacre of Colorado, where a whole mining district was levelled to the ground, including men, women and children, simply because the miners struck for better conditions. Profits again!

The Featherstone outrage, when men, woman and children were shot down in the streets, tells the same story. Surely any violence on the part of the Russian people during the present revolution can hardly be wondered at, when we think of the numberless times that they have suffered and bled, including the memorable "Red Sunday," when the streets and roads ran with the blood of the workers, and this because they demanded bread.

Perhaps one of the greatest examples of capitalist cruelty and cold-blooded butchery is that of the Paris Commune.

What more terrible than men, women and children being shot, and falling into a trench, first dug by themselves, the whole of "Bloody Week," as it is called stands out for unparalleled horrors and atrocities, which hardly bear thinking about.

Then, to come down to the present day; we have bloodshed in America, because the people refuse to submit tamely to conscription.

In Germany the Socialists who dare to cry "Long Live Peace," are being dispersed with swords.

That short tense sentence means a great deal; we can understand what is likely to happen when men and women are dispersed with swords.

Later we think of all the horrors which have been committed in the name of the church, the Spanish Inquisition, the massacre of St. Bartholemew, the burnings at the stake in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Mary, committed in the name of religion, but in reality, for some political purpose over which the former served as a cloak.

Whole volumes could and have been written on the subject of these happen-

exist only as parasites. Their positions only a farce. Don't forget the fact that anything BINDING on you is no good. IF IT WERE TO BE A BENEFIT TO YOU THERE WOULD BE NO NECESSITY THAT IT SHOULD BE BINDING. Consider therefore wisely and well before accepting anything put before you as a remedy for the present social evils.

Now being aware of the following facts, that the factors determining how much the worker receives of the wealth he creates under the present system, are the supply and demand of the labor markets of the world, combined with the cost of production of the worker, and seeing that the gap between the producing and consuming power of man is becoming greater, i.e., the difference between his wages, and the value he creates, caused by the greater efficiency of machinery; also knowing that machinery must keep advancing and be rendered more and more efficient, reducing the working class on the industrial field "to a mere item," and thus gradually reducing his standard of living, we cannot accept conciliation as a means of relieving our present industrial conditions.

No mutual or enforced agreements can alter the workers' position while the present system of society continues.

Capital and Labor are enemies to one another, and will remain so until Capital becomes the common property of the people, utilised for the benefit of all.

No man will be satisfied to live and struggle for an existence while another lives in luxury and refinement out of the value he, the worker, creates.

THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE EMPLOYER AND THE EMPLOYEE!

While there are economic masters there will be revolting slaves!

After the address, a short discussion took place, the speaker being thanked by the audience.

B. T. LEWIS,
Secretary Corral Branch.

A CORRECTION.

In the issue of the "I.S." of January 26th, the following paragraph appeared, under the heading of "Melbourne Branch" report:

Marx used the dialectic method of reasoning—that everything within itself is subject to evolution, or birth, growth, and decay. The Single Taxer regards land as "eternal," and is an industrialist.

The latter part of the paragraph should have read as follows:—

The Single Taxer regards land as "eternal," and is an individualist.

This mistake was owing to a line error, and in the haste to publish, the report was overlooked by our paid staff of readers. They apologise.—Ed. "I.S."

ings, where, for their own necessary ends, and greed of gold and power, the master class have not hesitated to use their might, and murder and rob with impunity.

We hear nothing of this in the capitalist press, with it, indeed, "might is right," or rather, we should qualify that by saying the capitalist is right, seeing that in Finland the acts of "Might" are referred to as "Socialist Atrocities." There are no accounts of women and children being butchered, and even if the blood lust seizes some of the revolutionaries, at least, they are making one gigantic struggle for their freedom, and we workers realise that we must have that whatever betides. Also we have learned by bitter experience that the way the capitalist enforces his wishes is by the gun, rifle and bayonet; is it wonderful, therefore, that the workers should fly to a method which they have seen used so successfully.

While, then, we deplore bloodshed, our emancipation is essential and inevitable. When the time comes we must use the best means possible to accomplish it, let them be what they may.

Socialism and War.

(This lecture was delivered by Comrade James B. Scott at the A.S.P. Hall, Melbourne, on Sunday, Feb. 3.)

In order to better understand the Socialist movement of the world it would be well to investigate into its past in various countries and by its past we will be able almost to predict where they will stand under certain conditions. There are fundamental principles of scientific Socialism which every movement deserving the name of "Socialist" must adhere to; when they depart from those principles they have no further claim on the Socialist movement.

SOCIALISM STANDS FOR THE SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION. AND THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY IN WHICH THAT AIM CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED, THAT BEING THROUGH REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL ACTION COMBINED WITH REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

SOCIALISTS—I mean **SOCIALISTS**—agree that the employing class and the working class have nothing in common, and that any movement that attempts to gull the workers, or blind the workers with side issues cannot be classed in the category of SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS.

Throughout the world it would appear that the real Socialist movements, who are uncompromising in their attitude towards everything that stands as an obstacle in the path of working class emancipation are small, owing to the fact that they are composed of real serious people who know what they want and know how to go about getting it. It may be a nice thing to receive the plaudits of an ignorant mob by dishing out stuff that tickles their ear, it is no doubt easier to cater to people than to present matter of an educative nature which, no doubt, would upset their mental cobwebs but for the GREAT MOVEMENT to which we belong it is not the plaudit hunters and the ear-ticklers who make for progress, they are in the movement not for the movement's sake, but for the sake of the notoriety they can get out of it—to those I would say "Be gone!"

It is better to be in a small movement that is right and over and above being right knowing you are right and are sincere in your knowledge of that rightness.

The Socialist movement of the world can be safely divided into two distinct camps, the revolutionaries and the reactionaries.

To the Revolutionaries there is but one path, and that is the straight and narrow one. To the utopian there are many paths that lead nowhere in particular but always away from Socialism.

It is easy to proclaim yourself a revolutionist and shout loud and long for the international in the days of peace. The only time that the "international" is endangered is when war takes the floor; then the Socialist movement and the leaders of Socialist thought are put into the social melting pot and in this crisis few have proved to be made of the genuine metal.

SOCIALISM knows of no nationality except the workers of all the world. To the revolutionary Socialist there is but one countryman and one country, and they are the world and the world's workers. When we hear utterances such as "We Social Democrats have not ceased to be Germans though we have joined the Socialist International," we know there is something radically wrong with that movement. It is easy to announce yourself as a Revolutionist when society is pursuing the even tenor of its way, but when the time comes and the test is put we are then in a better position to see the true from the false, the revolutionary from the Bourgeois reformer. In the light of the class struggle and the philosophy which flows from that struggle as a natural sequence we will view the movement and its so-called leaders.

But first of all let us look on the war itself, its cause and what it has brought to light.

Germany's ruling class are divided into two classes, the Junkers and the Industrial Capitalists. The Junkers want territory, and the Capitalists want trade. The Junkers are the landed nobility of Germany, who exploit the "freed-

serfs" who are still on the land. The capitalist class are those who own the mills, mines, factories and workshops of Germany and rob the workers who work therein. It was absolutely essential, if German Capitalism was to expand that they secure access to new markets, so that they could get rid of the product of the German workers who couldn't buy back what they had produced. This, in my estimation, was the reason for Germany entering the war.

The Serbian affair was a mere pretext, and the fear of a Russian invasion was a bogey. Let us take the German movement first. Inasmuch the desire of German capitalist class was the unloading of the German workers product for profit on some foreign market it would seem that it was no concern of, at least, the German Socialists. If the workers' position wasn't to be benefited then it was the duty of the German Socialists to oppose the war and propagate Socialism. But instead of that what happened? When war was declared the German Social Democratic party rushed to the aid of the "War Lord." They voted on the Government Credit, a terrible thing for a party calling itself Socialist to do in time of war, such an action created a moral enthusiasm in the army and prompted the German army to fight with greater vigor, believing that it was a war in the defence of all they held dear. Before the war the movement in Germany was all that could be expected, and at the meeting of the International Bureau in Brussels on July 29th, Hass, chairman of the party, announced that the German working class would be opposed to war even if Russia declared war on Austria.

On August 3rd the S.D.P. held a meeting, later they met the Chancellor, Von Bethmann-Hollweg, and allowed themselves to be convinced that this was a war in the defence of the Fatherland.

They put the whole blame on the Russians, and exonerated the high-handed band of financial pirates who constitute the German Government. Hass, Chairman of the party, and for a short period Vice-President of the Reichstag, made a speech, the following is an excerpt:—

"Should the Russian despotism which has stained its hands with the blood of the best of its people achieve a victory, our country and the freedom of its future would lose much, if not everything. It is our duty to obviate that danger and to hold our shield over the civilisation and the independence of our country. Therefore we do what we have always promised: in the hour of need we shall not fail our country. In this we feel ourselves in accord with international Socialism, which always admitted the right of every country to national independence and self defence. In accordance with its teachings, we shall object to a war of conquest. It is our demand that this war must end as soon as we have the certainty that our country is secure, and must be ended by a peace which will make friendship between us and our neighbours a possibility."

Let us review this speech. He talks of holding a "Shield over the civilisation and independence of our country." To the Revolutionary Socialist this is so much twaddle and balderdash.

The Socialists are supposed to be the expression of the disinherited, landless wage slave; would it not be pertinent to ask, "What do the toilers of Germany get out of this 'civilisation' they are being asked to defend?" and "How much INDEPENDENCE have they enjoyed under capitalism that they are betrayed by this pseudo Socialist movement to bolster up?" Then they did promise that "in the hour of need" they would side with the God ordained apostle of war and the ruthless machine owners of Germany? Such a promise is a betrayal of working class principles, and those who made the promise are wolves in sheep's clothing. When the Kaiser and his reactionary Government heard this "glad tidings of great joy" they could not be accused of departing from the truth when they claimed that the Socialists were behind the Government in the prosecution of the war. The Socialist (?) movement of Germany was honored (?) by a eulogy from the Chancellor himself, wherein he says:—

"With our fate that of other coun-

tries is bound up. This inspires us with double zeal, for in this war social difficulties have disappeared; even Social Democrats stand behind us. It is an inner moral force that drives us forward."

The enemies of Socialism in Germany hailed with true delight the attitude of these so-called Socialists. The Anti-Socialist League suspended its activities, and hoped that it would not be necessary to renew them after the war was over.

Even the Kaiser himself approvingly spoke of the sensible attitude of the Social Democrats, and allowed "Vorwärts" to be sold at the paper agencies of the State-owned railways, and permitted Socialists to work in Government factories.

So insane had this movement become that it sanctioned the sending of Hass and Philipp Scheidmann to Italy to induce Italy to join Germany in the war. They met with a terrible rebuff at the hands of the Italian Socialists, and were told what we expect Socialists would tell them: said the Italian Socialists:—

"WE HOPE THAT THIS INFAMOUS WAR WILL CRUSH THOSE WHO PROVOKED IT."

Bebel in the Reichstag in 1904 said, addressing the Government benches: "Gentlemen, you cannot carry on any victorious wars without our aid." Bebel was right, and the unexpected aid came when, had it been withheld, the German movement would have gone down to posterity as something worth while.

However, all the Social Democrats were not in this class, there was still that group of Internationalists, that small body of Revolutionary Socialists headed by Dr. Karl Liebknecht, the illustrious son of an illustrious father. In 1915 47 members of the S.D.P. were against voting military supplies to the Government, this out of a total 111 isn't a bad showing in face of the fact that the movement went the way all reform movements must go. In 1870 the father of the present Liebknecht, and Bebel voted against war credits. If those two could do that against the whole parliament in 1870 how much stronger should have been the attitude of the 111.

The leaders of the German movement, instead of apologising for the attitude, brazenly presented reasons why they acted as they did, those reasons will become relics in the museum of social treachery, when the history of the working class movement is written. Since the war the New York "Volkzeitung" reprinted part of an article from the pen of Frederick Engels which was originally written for the "Neue Zeit" in 1892, in which appears the following passage:—

"No Socialist of whatever nationality can wish the triumph of the present German Government in the war, nor that of the Bourgeois French Republic, least of all of that of the Czar, which would be equivalent to the subjection of Europe, and therefore the Socialists of all countries are for peace. But if it comes to war nevertheless, just one thing is certain—this war in which fifteen or twenty million armed men will slaughter one another, and all Europe will be laid to waste as never before—this war must either bring the immediate victory of Socialism, or it must upset the old order of things from head to foot and leave such heaps of ruins behind that the old capitalistic society will be more impossible than ever and the social revolution, although put off until ten or fifteen years later, would surely conquer after that time all the more rapidly and all the more thoroughly."

From this—the downfall of the German Social Democratic Party—people think they are justified in saying that "Socialism has failed." There certainly was a terrible failure, and that failure brought terrible consequences, but it was not Socialism that failed, Socialism has never failed, it has never been tried; but something failed, and that something is what will always fail, "POLITICAL-JSM," parliamentary action of the pure and simple brand with nothing to back it up on the industrial field; instead of it being Socialism that failed, it was directly the contrary, the movement that failed the working class in their time of need failed because it lacked the principles up-

on which stands, as De Leon would say, "put a pin there."

The "next door neighbour" of Germany is Belgium, and in this war the Socialist movement stands in a sorry plight. In the light of Internationalism where did they stand?

When the war broke out they issued the following manifesto:—

"To the people: The European war is declared. In a few days, a few hours, perhaps, millions of men who ask only to live in peace will be dragged without their consent into the most appalling of butcheries by treaties to which they have not agreed, by a decision with which they had nothing to do. The Social Democracy bears no responsibility in this disaster. We shrank from nothing to warn the people, to prevent the folly of armaments, to drive back the catastrophe which will strike all European communities.

But to-day the harm is done, and by the fatality of events one thought dominates us: that soon, perhaps, we shall have to direct our efforts to stopping the invasion of our territory.

We do so with all the more ardent hearts in that in defending the neutrality and even the existence of our country against militarist barbarism we shall be conscious of serving democracy and of political liberties in Europe.

Our comrades who are called to the colors will show how Socialist workers can conduct themselves in the face of danger. But whatever the circumstances in which they find themselves, we ask them never to forget, among the horrors they will see perpetrated, that they belong to the Workers' International, and that they must be fraternal and humane in war as is compatible with their legitimate individual defence, and that of the country."

In this manifesto we see the stamp of the real politician, surely nothing International about a movement like this, who agree to the slaughtering of workers in the defence of a country, an inch of which did not belong to the working class.

Who was and is the leader of the Belgian Socialist movement? Where and what has he been in the world's movements towards revolutionary Socialism? The leader of the Belgian movement is Emile Vandervelde, whom the Great De Leon characterises as "essentially a comedian," and as he has appeared in the limelight on the stage of war he has amply fulfilled the character. He boasted that even if the Belgian Socialists went out to kill their German comrades they were singing the "International" as they pulled the trigger that sent to their death one of those, who, in his own manifesto, had been "dragged out without their consent into the most appalling of butcheries by treaties to which they have not agreed."

The Belgian movement was never at any time verging on the revolutionary stage, it has been a party of reform since its inception. I have it on the authority of one of the ablest exponents of International Socialism that the movement in that benighted country had given itself over to the organising of co-operatives which absorb nearly all their energy and attention.

There never was any real propaganda for Socialism carried on in Belgium, and with the probable exception of the paper printed in Brussels, the "Le Peuple," their papers smirk of the American Federation of Labor brand of trade journals. What they think most about is their co-operative stores and factories, which are run for the benefit of the stock holders. Here we find workers and non-workers, Socialists and anti-Socialists combined, because they imagine they are getting cheap food. This is a terrible reflection on the sincerity of the movement, this state of affairs pre-supposes that the worker is robbed where he buys, and not where he works; it is a movement that plays into the hands of the capitalist who is continually craving for an excuse for lowering wages; as it is a self-evident

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Socialism and War.

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fact that wages are determined by the amount of necessary social labour power embodied in its reproduction, this fact being established it stands to reason that cheap food means low wages, therefore it can be summed up that the Belgian movement, though revolutionary in its essence is a palliative monger in practice.

Vandervelde, its leader to all intents and purposes, was in the revisionary class at the Amsterdam Congress. Along with the others of this movement he is a Utopian and Bourgeois Radical.

In De Leon's summary of the Amsterdam Congress of this man he said: "HIS CONSPICIOUSNESS DENOTES AN ABSENCE OF SERIOUSNESS IN THE MOVEMENT. With greater maturity a movement grows serious, and then produces other leaders. The leader of the seriously revolutionary Belgian movement is yet to make his appearance."

Let us now proceed to the American Socialist Party. Can any seriously minded man believe that there is a Socialist movement in America outside the Socialist Labor Party? If he believes otherwise let him come with me and review the American party.

At this stage we are, or at least I hope we are, agreed as to what Socialism is and how it is to be attained. In their hunger for votes they have entered to the A.F. of L. in their papers and journals until the movement itself has become a kind of a tail to the A.F. of L. kite. It is common to hear the Socialist, of the vote catching brand say from the box: "Why don't you vote as you strike, if you voted politically as you strike industrially the evils of society would be abolished." That's where the revolutionary Socialists and the political Socialist look horns.

That is just the trouble the workers of America do vote as they strike; they strike in penny numbers and vote in penny numbers, and in penny numbers the master class knock them down like so many nine-pins. The revolutionary movement the S.L.P. stand for REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL ACTION COMBINED WITH REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM as the only means toward working class emancipation: the S.P. believe in the old craft unions for the sake of the votes they get out of it.

I was a delegate to the National Conference from the State of Montana in 1911, and when the committee on "Industrial relations" reported it was looked upon as a victory by the Industrialists attending the conference when the report was accepted. I was one of those who believed that something had been accomplished, since then I have changed my mind. Political action has been and always will be the reflex of the Industrial movement, and no matter where the political party stood, except as a matter of principle, the Industrial movement must force the position and the pace. At that conference representing New York was a person by the name of Charles Edward Russell, a paid writer for bourgeois magazines, incidentally a writer for Socialist journals. He was defeated by Debs as the Presidential candidate on the Socialist ticket; he took the defeat badly, and refused to run against Sidel, the then Mayor of Milwaukee. We who believed in Industrial unionism had very little faith in this man, and as it so happened he was the first of a batch to go when the trumpets of war made their blare. He was shouting for "preparedness" to stuff the coffers of the armour plate patriot and making a general humbug of himself. Following in his train came one of the S.P.'s idols, Spargo, the author of "The Marx I knew," shortly afterwards came English Walling, followed by the milk and water type with which the American Socialist Party abounds.

They borrow the International slogan from the Communist Manifesto, "Workers of all countries unite," and at the same time four out of five members of their executive advocate the exclusion of Orientals.

As far back as 1904 this position was taken up by the S.P. delegates to the Amsterdam Congress.

Von Koll, of Holland, introduced a resolution at the aforementioned congress, part of which reads:—

"In further consideration of the fact that workingmen of backward races

(Chinese, negroes, etc.) are often imported by capitalists in order to keep down the native workmen by means of cheap labor, and that this cheap labor, which constitutes a willing object of exploitation, lives in an ill-concealed state of slavery—the Congress declares that the social Democracy is bound to combat with all its energy the application of this means, which serve to destroy the organization of labor, and thereby to hamper the progress and eventual realization of Socialism."

Signed by H. Van Koll (Holland), Morris Hilquilt (United States), H. Schlueter (United States), A. Lee (United States), P. Verdorst (Holland), Claude Thompson (Australia).

Sufficient to say it was looked upon as the most ridiculous thing from most ridiculous people, and laughed out of court without as much as a serious debate taking place upon it.

Since America's active participation in this war very few of the S.P. men have stood the test. They are out now advocating the raising of the two billion LIBERTY loan to defend Democracy against the military despotism of German capitalism.

I cannot help thinking about the America I knew with its three million unemployed army, its bread lines in New York and Chicago, with its 20,000 known prostitutes in the city of Chicago alone, and when I turn around and see COMRADES (!) of the Socialist movement standing on the same platform with the industrial assassins of that great republic I can see no difference between them and the traitor Millerand, the only difference being that the Gallifets of America murder the workers in the mills, mines, and factories instead of on the street.

The idea of a "Liberty Loan" recalls to my mind the story of Max O'Reill, the author of "Jonathan and his Continent."

As the Atlantic trip was drawing near a close, and the ship entering New York Harbor, a patriotic business man came rushing up to O'Reill, saying: "What do you think of our statue of Liberty? You have nothing like that in France."

"No," returned the French humorist, "but I see you have the same customs as we have in France; we, too, erect monuments to the memory of the dead."

I have here picked a few choice morsels from the pen of one by the name of Floyd Dell, an American Socialist. I have never heard of the gentleman before, but inasmuch as he is an unthinkable in the American S.L.P. he must, if he represents any movement at all, be a member of the American Socialist Party.

In the "Socialist War Manual," published by "The New Review," New York, this Dell, whoever he be, goes on to say:

"... THAT THE DUTY OF THE SOCIALIST movement to smash, to help smash, militarism, is more important than we ever guessed."

"Programmes of social reform and revolution alike are futile until the menace of Militarism is driven from the world."

I was always of the opinion that Socialism was out to attack causes, not effects. Militarism is but an effect of Capitalism, or, as George Kirkpatrick puts it, "The army and navy is to the Capitalist Class what beaks are to eagles and tusks are to tigers." This is the attitude of the reformer, the attitude of the Revolutionist is the abolition of the system for which militarism is established.

Again: "It may again seem preposterous to some people that Socialists should take any side in a war. They may be under the impression that 'Socialists do not believe in war.' It is necessary to correct that impression."

After correcting "the impression," he proceeds to tell us that Socialists "hold no fixed hostility against preparation for national defence." Oh, Socialism! what crimes are committed in thy name. The impression necessary to correct is just this: SOCIALISTS ARE OPPOSED TO WAR AND THE SYSTEM WHICH CREATES WAR; the Bourgeois reformer and Utopian Socialist may or may not believe in war, but the position of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST is unalterable.

The Socialist who takes up the position of this pseudo person writing under the guise of a Socialist is a liar and a fraud, and a traitor to the philosophy of the great movement which he misrepresents.

Militarism in any geographical area can only be abolished and destroyed by the workers of that same area, we have only to look to Russia for evidences of this fact.

As I have pointed out before the Socialist movement is a movement into which pour the radical elements of bourgeois society, with the individuals come some of the preconceived notions and fads, not forgetting their misconceptions. Since the inception of scientific Socialism it has been a hard matter for the really sincere scientific Socialist to keep the movement straight and free from the fads and fakes which have attempted to overwhelm it.

(To be continued).

The Australian Socialist Party.**PRINCIPLES AND POLICY.****Objective**

The Social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution.

Statement of Principles.

The present form of Society rests on private ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and machinery of production constitute what is economically known as the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term, "The capitalist form of society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth of society, whilst it only receives sufficient to enable it to carry on production (i.e. a living wage). The rest of the wealth is appropriated by the capitalist class, and is known as surplus value.

Thus a conflict of interests is set up over the division of this wealth, each class striving to obtain possession of a greater portion. This conflict of interests begets a never-ceasing struggle known as the class war, some section or other of the working class being ever engaged in actual conflict.

Political Action and the State

The struggle forces the workers to organise on the industrial field. But this organisation inevitably produces political consequences.

The State, that combination of legal, judicial and coercive forces, which is directed by parliament (the executive of the capitalist system), is the weapon with which the capitalist class defeats the workers on the industrial field. Finding themselves in conflict with the State, the workers are forced to find political expression for their economic organisations.

Inasmuch as industrial action produces its political reflex, the A.S.P. recognises the use of revolutionary political action on the above basis, as distinct from the palliative-mongering parliamentarism of non-revolutionary parties, to be essential to the complete overthrow of the capitalist system.

Political action then is only of value to the working-class, so far as it truly reflects its organised industrial power.

As to Unionism.

The A.S.P. aims and declares for Industrial Unionism as against craft or sectional unionism, for whereas the specialisation of the processes of production, the invention of machinery, and the concentration of ownership into fewer and fewer hands, makes craft unionism unable to cope with this economic development, and ever growing power of the em stage in the evolution of capitalist production, i.e., the organised labor expressions of lower forms of tools, the A.S.P. therefore declares that to-day this organisation has outlived its usefulness, and has created crafts and sections amongst the working class in the same industry, and this contradiction in industrial development allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set in the same industry, and industry against industry, thereby defeating one another when waging war against the encroachments of the capitalist class, with their superior and higher developed organisations. And in view of this economic development the working class must organise in such a manner as will correspond to the development of the tools of production.

The A.S.P. therefore affirms that industrial unionism in contradistinction to craft unionism is that form of organisation which is based upon the recognition of the class struggle, and through which all its members in one industry or in all industries, if necessary, can act as a unit on the industrial field.

The A.S.P. therefore endorses the 1916 preamble of the W.I.U.

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